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COMMENTS

Three things on which the Non-Co-operators have taken their stand are the Khilafat Wrong, the Punjab Wrong and the winning of Swaraj. When the Non-Co-operation movement was started, it was alright for the people to state these things in general terms but now the country wants more than a mere repetition of these statements. People must be told definitely what is the sort of reparation which Mr. Gandhi wants in the matter of the Punjab Tragedy and also what kind of modification of the Peace Treaty will satisfy the Muslim sentiment. It is also necessary to define the form of Swaraj which Mr. Gandhi wants. At present, very few people have clear ideas on these questions. The time has come when we must present our demands in a more definite and clear manner. Further, Mr. Gandhi's idea of Swaraj seems to differ from the prevalent and hitherto accepted ideal by the Congress. To eliminate all troubles and misunderstanding and in order to help people think more practically and definitely, the mininum demands of the nation with regard to these three matters must be framed and published. The Nagpur Congress may usefully take up this work.

* * *

The most unjust instance of how British rule presses heavily on the over-exploited Indian tax-payer is the huge expenditure on Ecclesiastical Establishment. The Reform Act safeguards such expenditure and exempts it from Budget operations. The policy of non-intervention in religious matters has always been a redeeming feature of British rule in India. India has no State Church and in view of the diversity of her religious creeds, cannot have one. Proseletysation, we suppose, is not a policy of the Government in the sense in which exploitation is. Why then, should the Indian tax-payer be burdened with the cost of maintaining an army of Bishops and Archdeacons amounting to nearly two millions of rupees a year? Cannot this sum be expended on the crying wants of the nation? If the souls of our soulless bureaucrats need weekly purification, surely His Majesty's Government may afford the cost. The growing feeling in this matter will, we fear, ultimately tend to discredit the Christian religion instead of the British Government which is responsible for this unfairness.

* * *

All things indicate that Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar's address at the Nagpur Congress will err on the side of moderation. It may be taken as certain that the President-elect will declare himself against the proposed modification of the Congress creed. Being an able and devoted student of constitutional history, Mr. Achariar will, it is expected, give numerous historical precedents and contemporary experiences in support of the view which he takes on all the political problems. As regards Non-Co-operation, it is well-known that Mr. Achariar accepts the principle while rejecting the programme adumbrated at the Calcutta Congress. We may expect to see his arguments against the withdrawal of children from schools and against the suspension of practice by lawyers. It is also stated that Mr. Achariar is for an open alliance with the Labour party in England and against pursuing a vindictive policy in the matter of the Pubjab offenders. The President of the Congress, by virtue of his position, can exercise a great influence over the delegates. It remains to be seen if Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar will succeed in converting the Congress to the view which he is reported to hold, *viz.* the view as indicated above in this note.

* * *

An analysis of the percentage of registered voters who actually voted for the different classes of constituency in the Madras Presidency gives interesting results. The largest percentage of voting was in the Non-Muhammadan constituency for the Council of State, the actual figure being 74·7 per cent. The next best is the University consituency which recorded 66·1 per cent. And the third is the Landholders

constituency which recorded 65 per cent. This proves that many propertied and educated men have not followed Mr. Gandhi's advice. The lowest percentage of voting was in the Muhammadan constituency for the Legislative Assembly, the votes recorded being 8 per cent. The Mahammadan (Urban and Rural) constituency recorded 13·7 per cent. while the Muhammadan constituency for the Council of State recorded 61·2 per cent. While this proves that even among Muhammadans many rich men have not boycotted the Councils, there is no denying the fact that Mr. Gandhi's gospel of Non-Co-operation has secured greater success among Muhammadans in Madras than with others.

* * *

Among the eminent leaders of India who are against the withdrawal of children from schools are Lala Lajpat Rai, Hasan Inam, Pundit Madan Mohan Malavia and Mrs. Besant. We have already stated that the President-elect of the Nagpur Congress is also of this opinion. Besides this, there are a large number of Provincial leaders who have openly declared themselves against the boycott of schools. With the exception of one or two newspapers, the Press of India is totally against the boycott of schools. Even the students themselves do not seem to like this aspect of the Non-Co-operation movement because they have not sufficiently responded to Mr. Gandhi's call so far. We deeply regret the resolution passed by the Reception Committee of the All-India Students' Conference at Nagpur approving of the boycott of Schools and Colleges. While we honor the motive which prompts our young men to respond so readily to the call of Mr. Gandhi, we must say that the best interest of our country will be served only by their studying in schools and colleges but not by impatiently giving up the study.

* * *

The three Ministers who were appointed under the new Act have assumed charge of their high offices. We still adhere to the view expressed last week that in the interest of the taxpayer two Ministers and two Executive Councillors would have sufficed. To those who suggest that such multiplication of offices is necessary, we would commend the resolutions of protest passed by the Bombay Liberal League and the Poona Deccan Sabha in connection with a similar proposal to multiply the offices in Bombay. It remains to be seen how the opposition party is going to be organised within the Council. The leader of the opposition must be one, who is head and shoulders above his fellow Councillors, in the matter of experience and knowledge of Council proceedings. He must also be a man who holds progressive views. The country will refuse to support any moderate or reactionary leader and without its support, nothing can be done. We do not know when the first Council meeting will take place but we hope that the Councillors will choose their leader wisely and well; for, on it depends many things including the fortunes of this Presidency.

* * *

The Congress at Nagpur will be the poorer for the absence, in its midst, of Mrs. Annie Besant. For the first time during the last seven years, Mrs. Besant is staying away from the National Assembly. The complete estrangement of her policy from the prevailing policy of the Congress and the unchivalrous treatment meted out to her at the Calcutta Special Congress must have influenced her to come to this decision regretfully. Mrs. Besant was responsible for infusing life into the Congress and she is the maker of the New India which we witness to-day. Though we feel sorry that she has not found it possible to lend the weight of her presence at the Congress, we honor her for her great services to India. Mrs. Besant is reported to have accepted the invitation to attend the meeting of the National Liberal Federation. Our puzzle is how she can reconcile herself, she who has done so much for the cause of freedom, to the atmosphere of toadyism and sychophancy which must pervade the hall where the Federation meets?

* * *

The week abroad is full of sensations. The tragedy in Ireland makes us despair of a satisfactory settlement between her and Great Britain for a long time to come. Outrages and murders are met by murders and there is no knowing when this anarchy will cease. If the British Government will rise to the occasion and pacify long-suffering Ireland, she will win the admiration of the world. The League of Nations, it is stated, has granted mandates for the Ex-German Colonies in the Pacific to Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Japan as arranged and also the mandate for the Ex-German South West Africa to South Africa. The morality of this arrangement is open to question. King Constantine, on the invitation of more than a million people, went to Athens and to the Royal Palace amid scenes of enthusiasm. It is stated that the British Government has decided to instruct the British Minister in Athens not to have official relations with King Constantine. Interesting developments are sure to follow from this course of action. The *Times* learns from Constantinople that the Bolshevik troops are concentrating in Baku and it is feared that this portends a fresh invasion of Persia.

* * *

Mr. Maramaduke Pickthall, the Editor of the *Bombay Chroncile* has written an interesting article in *Young India* of the 15th instant. It is headed, terribly enough, The Asiatic War. After tracing the career of Enver Pasha who is said to be the Winston Churchill of Turkey, Mr. Pickthall analyses the causes which have led to the ferment in the Islamic world. He concludes the article with the following ominous words:" "It seems to me that India has to face the prospect of a war in Asia, in which she may be forced to play the part that England played in the Great War in Europe with this difference that the great majority of the Indian people will at heart be neutral. I have no doubt as to the opening phases of that war, but I feel certain that the final phase will be a struggle between the Committee of Union and Progress and Bolshevik organisation and that the Committee will win."

* * *

The Secretary of State for India has the reputation of being an able Parliamentarian. The following crushing repartee which he gave to Colonel Yate, in reply to a question from that reactionary member is worth recording:—

"Colonel Yate: Does not the Right Hon. Gentleman realise the truth of what was said in the *Times* yesterday, that

it is to ignorance and fanaticism that the appeals of Gandhi are being made, and how dangerous it is in a country like India to allow those appeals to go unchecked?

Mr. Montagu : I think that ignorance and fanaticism are very dangerous things whether in India or on the benches in this House."

* * *

The Indian Social Reformer, in the course of a leading article in its issue of December, 19 writes :—"The *Hindu* is perfectly free to cover up by vigorous denunciations of the open opponents of Non-Co operation the trail left by its intellectual jugglery in avowing acceptance of the principle, while disavowing the several items in the programme, of Non-Co-operation. Any good cause has less to gain by such opportunist support than open opposition."

MR. GANDHI'S PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE.

We propose to examine in this article the basis of Mr. Gandhi's philosophy of life. Every one acquainted with the public activities of Mr. Gandhi must have known that his philosophy is based on suffering. The doctrine of passive resistance is, at best. a doctrine of suffering. The Non-Co-operation Movement is also based on this idea. Fasting, renunciation, the giving up of this, that, and everything involve an amount of physical and mental suffering. Mr. Gandhi asks students to withdraw themselves from schools and if this should result in many young men going without education, he would not care. He asks lawyers to give up their practice and if they should tell him that such a process would involve much suffering to many families, he simply will not understand. He would suffer himself and make others suffer with him for the purpose of achieving any object which he thinks is good. In fact, every one of his activities is inspired by this law of suffering. He is of opinion that the British Government in India is an unjust and immoral Government and in order to purify it, he would risk any amount of suffering,

As was said of Lord Chatham, we might say of Mr. Gandhi that there is something finer in the man than anything which he says. He is a spiritual man as well as a man of fine character. Because his influence over his countrymen is great, it is necessary that all his views must be carefully examined with a view to test their soundness. Why should the masses in India support the doctrine of Mr. Gandhi based, as it is, on the law of suffering? This question can be answered in two ways. In the first place, Mr. Gandhi is a spiritual man and spiritual men have always commanded the reverence of the people of this land. Secondly, the peculiar economic conditions of this country are such that people have been habituated to suffering. In many families in India, there is not sufficient food for all to eat. The husband sees the wife starve. The mother sees her children go with one meal a day. There are not sufficient clothes for many families to wear. Many people do not have comfortable lodgings. Many have no money even to purchase the necessities of life. In such a state of society, people are accustomed from morning to night to undergo suffering. It is not surprising, therefore, that poor men are among the greatest supporters of Mr. Gandhi.

But there are men whose temperaments will not allow them to endorse such a philosophy. Every one of us cannot be a Roman father to tolerate the suffering of his own son for the sake of achieving a distant ideal. Some people cannot have the heart to see others suffer. Mr. Gandhi may have sufficient determination to see another man starve if he is convinced in his own mind that such starvation will contribute to purification. But some people cannot bear to see others starve, whatever may be the object. Mr. Gandhi thinks that the world can be purified by suffering. Some people think that on no account must voluntary suffering be tolerated. Their policy is based on the law of love. While the object of both is noble, the method by which they propose to achieve that object is entirely different.

It might be asked whether anything noble can be achieved in this world without a proportionate amount of suffering. We do not dispute this point. A soldier fighting for his country really suffers. A man who risks his life for the purpose of saving a fellowman in danger also suffers. But such things are based on the law of sacrifice. They are not done with a deliberate view to invite suffering. We can understand unavoidable suffering in the course of performing some great and noble work. But to invite self-suffering, is, indeed, a philosophy of life which is very difficult for people to follow.

It might be disputed whether the law of suffering is the correct philosophy for Indians, ruled, as they are, by a foreign Government. While we hold that there are many good points to commend it, we would certainly place the law of love above the law of suffering. Just as autocracy as a means to winning liberty is bad, so, deliberate suffering with a view to draw on us the sympathy of our oppressors is bad. The reason why Mr. Gandhi's philosophy finds favour with the masses is because that the latter are accustomed to suffer every day and this is nothing strange to them. Those who have little faith in the gospel of suffering cannot endorse Mr. Gandi's philosophy. Nor can those support him who have never known what it is to suffer. That is why we see that most rich men and almost all Britishers look askance at Mr. Gandhi's philosophy of life.

MR. BEN SPOOR, M. P.

Mr. Ben Spoor, in the course of a lengthy interview to a press representative regarding his mission in India said :—

Questioned how he could expect to grasp the situation in so short a time, Mr. Spoor replied: Of course one fully realizes that a problem so complex as that facing India to-day cannot be grasped in all its details in the course of a few weeks' stay in your country. It may, however, be possible to discern some of the chief tendencies and in a measure, to gauge the likely developments. At all events, one will go back to England better informed and more qualified to express an opinion. I am hoping to meet men and women of different points of view in the centres visited and at the Nagpur Congress; for whilst it does appear as though Mahatma Gandhi's propa-

ganda is at the moment sweeping the country in an extraordinary manner, complete unanimity as to his suggested method has not yet been secured. Proceeding Mr. Spoor stated: As you doubtless know, I was a member of the Select Committee that considered the Government of India Bill last year. One thing struck me about the Indian witnesses who gave evidence, and it was that whilst there was an absolutely unanimous demand for Home Rule, there were obvious differences of opinion as to whether Mr. Montagu's Reform Scheme was actually a step towards it. It may be that some of those differences have been composed. The Panjab tragedy and the Khilafat question may have brought about a more complete unity amongst the people of India than has ever existed before. Still, it is clear that there are minorities (how powerful, I cannot estimate) that do not yet accept the policy of Non-Co-operation. It is exceedingly difficult for an Englishmen visiting this country for the first time, to arrive at a reasoned judgment of the policy. The psychology of the situation is not easily understood. Though profoundly convinced of the fundamental unity of East and West, one is equally conscious of very real differences in what might be termed "reliance upon moral and spiritual force" as a factor in practical politics. Temperamental differences too cannot be disregarded. It may be that the idealist is the only practical man, but our British machinery of Government is not based on that idea, and whilst the whole spirit of Britain believes in justice and freedom, temporary forms of Government give very inadequate expression to that spirit. We are a practical people, and our inclination is to judge a movement like "Non-Co-operation" in its immediate practical effect and with little thought of its ethical significance.

Turning to the subject of Non-Co-operation, the British Labour delegate said: If India can successfully carry through a bloodless revolution, if by non-violent methods she can secure her complete freedom, she will achieve what no nation has ever acheived before. I for one hoped that weak as was the Reform Scheme, Indians would work it for what it was worth, continuing meanwhile their agitation for fullest justice. But the new factors that have entered into the situation with the Punjab revelations and the blow struck at Muhammadan prestige have seemingly convinced the majority of Indians that justicce is unobtainable from the British Government. The people of this country are finally the judges as to the method they should adopt, and whilst many of us in England would have liked to see the closest co-operation in the task of freeing India, it almost looks as though the doctrine of Non-Co-operation is going to be generally adopted by the great mass of the Indian people. I have frequently been asked what alternative method I would suggest. And I realise it is no answer to say, "Co-operate." That may have been an effective reply some time ago. It is not now. But one thing may save the situation and prevent even a bloodless conflict. Let the British Government do now not merely the just but the generous thing. Let them remove by an unmistakeable gesture the conditions which gave birth to the Non-Co-operation movement. Let them infuse into Indian administration the spirit of Mr. Montagu's speech in the Dyer debate. Perhaps I may be permitted a word regarding the Secretary of State for India. I have noticed amongst Indians a severely critical attitude to Mr. Montagu. At a meeting at Ahmedabad the other night when my friend, Mr. S. R. Bomanji, spoke of Mr. Montagu's efforts on behalf of India, there was obvious dissension in the audience. Why? Surely Mr. Montagu is not to be regarded as an enemy of India, simply because his work was limited by the Government of which he was a member. Few people seem to realise the immense difficulty confronting a Minister who hopes to launch a Bill successfully in the present British Cabinet and then steer it safely through the House of Commons and the House of Lords. Speaking with a full knowledge of Mr. Montagu's work on the Select Committee of Parliament I say: No member of the present Government could, nor would have, done as much as he has done. Of course, we were not satisfied. We wanted a much stronger measure. We wanted too the elimination of that mentality in the Indian Government which inevitably leads to tragedies like the Punjab. But because we have not yet got these things, do not let us continually be abusing the only man in the British Government whose sincerity towards Indian aspirations has been demonstrated in the face of the severest opposition. Be just to Mr. Montagu and leave the *Morning Post* to carry on its own campaign of abuse.

DAY DREAMS.

The jasmine breaths through fragrant hours.
The trees their sunny silence keep.
The birds, their voices hushed in sleep.
Dream all day long of silver showers.
Alone in lands of sparkling streams,
Lost in the sea of endless dreams,
I weep and smile. I know not why.

DEW-FALL.

The dews of night are falling fast.
No sound is heard, save for the beat
Of drowsy watchman's measured feets,
Stiff with the fitful winter blast.

VAIN LONGINGS.

O mother, when the mantle dark.
Of night falls in thick folds on earth
And even the dogs have ceased to bark,
Vain longings in my heart take birth,
And all alone I cry for thee
Long-lost, eyes dim with rushing tears-
Like child that, ere the birds can fly
From their warm nest at day break, fears
His mother's absence from his side.
Can you, my mother, hear unmoved
My anguished cry, and still abide
Far off from me, so well beloved ?

K. G. Sankara.

INDIA'S GOAL.

Mr. S. E. Stokes, an American Missionary, writes in the course of a long letter, in the *Bombay Chronicle* as follows:—

The goal set before us in the announcement of August 20th, 1917, was self-Government within the Empire. My own personal conviction is that this cannot be our ultimate object. It may, or may not be, a step to that object. We must aim

at real equality with other free peoples of the world ; and our self-respect should make the thought of a perpetual partnership with a group of nations, such as now compose the British Empire, an impossibility. Can we, for instance, look forward to being permanently linked with Australia, voicing the policy of which the Hon. W. A. Watt, Treasurer of the Australian Commonwealth, speaking in London this year, said:—

"The dominant thought in our minds had been that in South-Eastern Asia live 800,000,000 coloured people: and the Australian people say, that, whatever can be done to keep our country for such as the British and their children, should be done."

Or with an Australia of the view-point of which this extract from the Sydney "Morning Herald" is typical:—

"To-day the people of the world are in dire want, and in the direst want are the myriads of the East. Australia to them is a land of plenty. We shall have to show our right to hold the land of plenty. Our title depends first upon our possession of it, and secondly upon our power to hold it. In that way only will our nation be built up sufficiently strong to be successful in a struggle for possession of the vacant lands of the Pacific, of which Australia is the most prized."

If the above are expressive of the Australian view—point —and they are—can we for a moment imagine that India could ever be 'in reality' an equal member with it in the same Empire; No! It would be an "equality" in which Indians had the sorry consolation of (not) being able to keep Australians, Canadians and South Africans out of India while Indians themselves, politely but firmly restricted to their own borders, might from the Indian Isolation Camp enjoy the privilege watching their white "equal fellow-subjects" of the Empire engaged in their struggle for possession of the vacant lands of the Pacific which the "coloured people" of South-Eastern Asia must not contaminate by their presence. Will our self-respect permit us to contemplate this as a "permanent" state of affairs! Or that we be linked with Canada, or with the sister colonies of South Africa, after the way they have treated the people of India! If so, Heaven help us, for we have no self-respect.

AN IMPRACTICAL CONCEPTION.

Some of the worthiest of us, led on by the hope that in a new awakening of the world the "white" races will out grow their racial pride, still cling to the thought of an equal position for India within the Empire. Believe one of pure British stock whose forefathers for nearly two hundred and fifty years have played an honourable part in building up the great Republic of the West, whatever may be said of the Latin races, the "colour prejudice" of the Germans, British and Americans is too deeply seated to justify our indulging in any hope of a change in the immediate future. These races really and honestly believe in their innate superiority and they consequently think it is both their right and their duty to control the destinies of mankind. For this reason also, I believe it does not occur to them that they have no right to forcibly exploit the resources of the world or compel all other nations to adapt their political and economic life to the requirements of Western Industrialism. The time may come—God grant it!—when the West, purged by adversity of her pride and predatory industrialism, will look upon the non-white races of the world as equals and brothers but that time is not yet, and long before it dawns upon us, India must have won her own freedom and independent place in the comity of races wherein alone that growth in "self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control" is possible by which nations as well as individuals can realize their potentialities. Hence I would urge upon those who still cling to the dream of such a permanent connection to dismiss it as incompatible with Indian's fullest life. I am anxious to have them do so, not because I contemplate the advisability of an immediate severance of the Imperial connection, as will hereafter appear, but because the goal we set before us must greatly influence the nature of our present efforts. How impractical the conception of the British Empire is, as a comity of equal sister nations including India, will appear in a moment if we try to envisage it. Indians excluded from all sister colonies, excluded also from that peaceful penetration which all "white" British subjects claim as their right; excluded even from those uninhabited areas of the world such as tropical Australia, which are kept as a preserve for the "white" race which needs them far less than India does, such is the outlook. The idea is preposterous,—a disgrace to those who propose it, and an insult to those to whom it is proposed!

To sum up my position: Our immediate object should be to secure the elimination of every thing in the relations between the Government and the people which makes for Indian debasement and demoralization, and our "ultimate goal," in the light of which we should strive, and towards the realization of which our efforts should tend, must be absolute Swaraj for India.

THE ONLY HOPE.

It may well be that among the British readers of this paper there will be some who feel that in writing the above, and in the succeeding discussion of methods, I am urging a policy inimical to the interests of the Empire. There may even be those who consider my proposals disloyal. If so, I am convinced that they are in error upon both points. For I am certain that, a hundred years hence, the historians of this period will be at one in their conviction that the only hope for the preservation of the British Empire lay in her voluntarily giving up her hold upon India. The strength of that Empire can only lie in its being composed of peoples with a common civilization and springing from a common stock, with common ideals and a common ambition. The position in the Empire which the various colonies would assign to India, is one which can only produce greater hatred as the years go by, and will eventually, if held to, make India the cause of the Empire's disruption. At the time of the American Civil War, Abraham Lincoln declared—and the truth of his assertion we would all acknowledge—"This nation cannot exist half slave, half free." That declaration is also true of this Empire, Politically and socially its various parts must be equal, if it is to survive. Either get the Dominions to throw open their doors to their Indian fellow subjects, giving them

exactly the same civil and political rights as they enjoy themselves, either free Indians altogether from all the social disabilities that they suffer as Asiatics away from their own shores, or know well that in trying to keep India as a part of the British Empire under degrading conditions you are really preparing the destruction of the Empire itself.

MEMORANDUM.

BY THE HON. G. S. KHAPARDE.

We have received the following for publication :—

Now that all portents point to a speedy and it is hoped a decisive contest between the ideas underlying the Indian National Congress movement as carried on hitherto with their modifications brought about during the course of its nearly 35 years continued existence on the one hand, and the ideas put forward by the organizers of the recent Non-Co-operation movement on the other, and as the result of the contest bids fair to have very far reaching consequences in guiding the trend of events in India either in the path trodden by the self-governing colonies of the British Empire like Canada or Australia or in that now attempted to be taken by Ireland, with certainly very different incidents and perhaps divergent endings, it appears desirable both for clearness and brevity to tabulate in parallel columns the two sets of ideas, so that a person desirous of making up his mind may find materials or at least a nucleus of them ready to hand, to weigh their effect on the immediate future and make his choice.

The probabilities are that a sort of compromise will be reached and it would be the resultant of the two forces now working in the country. If unfortunately this does not turn out so, the present endeavour to put the prevailing ideas in juxta position and classify them, would clear the ground and make adjustment or rearrangement easier and free it to a a great extent of avoidable friction and reduce the heat that may be generated in the course of controversy. From the nature of the thing and the shortness of the time available, it is not possible to present a complete statement of both the points of view, but it is hoped, enough will be mentioned to help thought and lead to a reasoned conclusion, in the light of the discussion, if any which this Memorandum may give rise to.

EXISTING NOTIONS.

(1) Attainment of full responsible Government within the British Empire like that of the self-governing Colonies, by bringing about the transformation of the existing Government by all constitutional means.

N. B.—The term Colonial Self-Government or Dominion Government is defined by various statutes.

(2) The Congress originally merely focussed public opinion on general topics of administration, and later on laid down general policies und the broad lines on which agitation was to be carried on.

IDEAS SOUGHT TO BE INTRODUCED BY NON-CO-OPERATION.

(1) "The attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means," by ignoring the existing de facto Government, and setting up a rival state within it, working under its own resolutions through departments created and managed by itself.

N. B.—The term "Swaraj" is handy but its import is not yet defined by a statute.

(2) Attempt is being made now, so to say, to legislate for the whole of India and lay down the particular steps and the particular manner in which they are to be taken.

(3). The Ind. N. C. has hitherto been a purely political body. Social, industrial and similar matters being dealt with by special and independent bodies brought into existence for the purpose.

(4). Congress stands for peaceful political struggle which necessarily involves contracts with existing government, taking part in its councils and such action as their measures demand *viz.*, Co-operation, negotiations, Non-Co-operation, opposition, obstruction and the like.

(5). The Congress recognizes Provincial Autonomy and provides for it by Provincial, District, Taluka and even village committees, giving them liberty to modify and arrange details of the general policies recommended, in the right of local circumstances.

(3). The organizers of the Non-Co-operation movement have declared that their programme is intended to be disciplinary, calculated to evoke soul force with other desirable virtues like self-sacrifice, celibacy, abstinence, &c., &c.

N. B.— The organizers would have to define the expression "political question" that the activities of the Congress may be kept within well understood limits. There is a suggestion that the question of dowry should be taken up. Is this to be done?

(4). The Non-Co-operation movement makes the Non-Co-operation preached by it the chief and only political weapon and avoids contact with Government, as far as possible.

(5). The organizers of N. C. O. by laying down details and prescribing the manner of carrying them out leave no discretion to Provinces to modify details, &c., &c.

BRIEF OBSERVATIONS.

What the Ind. N. C. has accomplished is before the public and need not be recapitulated. The Non co-operation movement would appear to tend to divert the energies of the congress into directions of attaining soul force, moral excellence, and loses sight of the political aspect of affairs. By avoiding contact with the de facto Government it affords no training ground for acquiring the kind of political mindedness and temper that is necessary to carry on a sustained struggle in a peaceful and yet firm and orderly manner. The Non-co-operation as preached now may develop power of endurance but cannot breed the energy and resourcefulness and practical wisdom necessary for a political struggle. The three boycotts at present recommended by it are futile and have, if at all, a very distant political aspect, and the tendency of the whole as evidenced in the procedings for alteration of the creed of the All India Home Rule League, now renamed Swaraj Sabha, would appear to be towards a return to autocracy and personal rule which is objectionable and against the spirit of the age, though entrusted to a highly developed and moral individual.

ZAGHLUL PASHA.

Saad Pasha Zaghlul, tall and spare, has simple dignity of bearing, a quiet charm of sympathy in the intelligent, searching eyes—a hint of humour in the mobile mouth and a suggestion of such latent force behind the somewhat delicate exterior which combines to produce a compelling but winning personality. If his face reveals the stress of his stormy political life of the past seven years it also bears the imprint of the confidence and calm judgment of a statesman who, assured of the integrity of his cause, can await through storm, the time of its fulfilment.

Originally a member of the "moderate" party Saad Pasha Zaghlul won golden opinion from Lord Cromer and Abbas II., Khedive of Egypt. As Minister of Education and later as Minister of Justice, he collaborated with the Coptic Prime Minister Boutors Pasha, Ghali Fehmi Pasha and Mohammed Said Pasha, showing great independence and offering inveterate opposition to Turkish designs, and intrigues with the inevitable result that he incurred the Khedive's displeasure. It will not be unfair to point out that the moderate party was more or less a creation of Lord Cromer's called into being to support the British occupation, but never-the-less be it said, to its credit that the party invited British co-operation with a view to redress Egyptain grievance and promote Egyptian interest in so far as this was consistent with the retention of the favour of the government.

Since 1910 the moderate party has ceased to exist, and since 1912 Saad Pasha Zaghlul has been the non-official Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly. Only last year monster petitions were signed and resolutions passed by representative bodies which included ruling princes, Government officials of all grades follaheen and women in their long list of signatories recognizing and appointing Zaghlul as sole mandatory of the Egyptian people. State officials in a body, moreover, fully supported the claims of the Nationalist party.

More than this, in the Legislative Assembly itself resolutions were passed affirming all laws which had been passed since the propogation of the Assembly during the war to be null and void; declaring the sovereignty of Egypt over the Soudan and the indissoluble union of the two countries, affirming the national independence and sovereignty of Egypt and recognizing Saad Pasha Zaghlul as the sole mandatory of the Egyptian people.

Lord Allenby, who at first thought it impolitic to interfere with such unequivocal national sentiment, a few days later prohibited all notices of these proceedings from appearing in even the native press and made their repetition a serious offence against martial law.

The Egyptian Nationalist Delegation under the Pasha's able leadership, conducted an extensive and intelligently organized propaganda in the interests of complete national independence for Egypt. I was interested to put some questions. We talked in French. My questions, I am afraid, were clumsy, but his replies answered my thought. "Do you think the independedce of Egypt will ever be conceded by the British Government?"

The ex-Minister of Education leant back meditatively: No doubt Mr. Balfour has declared in the House of Commons that British supremacy must be maintained in Egypt and Lord Curzon though more conciliatory in tone and temper has urgued in the House of Lords that under British supervision and guidance representative institutions must be slowly evolved. But the unanimous verdict of the Egyption people has already gone forth for complete independence, and reforms will never satisfy us until the Protectorate, which was wrongfully recognized by the Versailles Conference, in violation of Egyptian rights and in utter disregard of our solemn protests, is abolished."—*The Venturer*.

EVERY FACE TELLS A STORY.

Human nature is the most interesting study on earth. Wherever we go, in tube or train, tramway car or street, it is absorbing to observe—just people's faces. Every one tells a story. There is the evil face: the innocent face that knows not life; the face that knows it too well; the cheery face; the sad face; the clever face; the good face, the face that lives in the past; the face that strains to the future; the face brimful of happiness—how few of these: the firm, capable face silently offering help; and the hundreds of faces that express acquiescence, monotony, boredom, nothing more.

Why so many of these last? Because people rarely study their own expressions, never analyse themselves. They forget the face is the barometer of character. They lose interest in life—they become human machines. After all, how else can people judge a stranger except by his expression? First impressions mean much. A face that attracts is an asset, a face that repels a severe handicap. "I wouldn't trust that woman farther than I could see her." "She looked so kind I had to tell her my trouble." "I'd never marry anyone with a disagreeable expression like that." "What? Engage her for the post! Why, she's got a face like a week of wet Sundays. I like a bit of sunshine near me." How often have we both heard and made these or similar remarks? They prove the advantage of cultivating an expression that charms, attracts, and compels.

What does your face tell the world? Look in the mirror and see. Judge yourself as you would a stranger. The study will help you to self-knowledge, show you what to encourage what to restrain, what to alter altogether. Worry brings lines between the eyes and round the mouth. Discontent is shown by lack of animation and a mouth that droops. A bitter view of life, lack of sympathy, generosity, and understanding are reflected in a hard mouth, a thin, close line of lips, and eyes that condemn with contempt. But lips that smile merrily and laugh readily, eyes that are alert and eager and kind, are the tokens of a charming personality. There are others, of course; you will recognise them readily. Happiness, content and kindliness will not be denied expression. Cultivate them, so that your face may indeed be a fortune worth untold gold.—*Sunday Advocate.*

WHAT IS A MIDDLE CLASS.

Speaking at a crowded meeting at Lancaster, Mr. G. Bernard Shaw gave reasons why the middle classes should join the Labour Party.

When he spoke of the middle classes, said Mr. Shaw, he was not using the term in its opprobrious social sense at all. He was using it in its economic sense. What was the middle class man in the economic sense? He was a person who had a bit of education to the extent of knowing how to read and write and knowing arithmetic. He had a business training, which consisted mostly of going into an office, and when he was in any difficulty as to what to do he was told to do what was done last time. (Laughter). He grew up with a knowledge of success—that was to say, a knowledge of what was done the last time. (Laughter.) The middle class man to-day stood between, on the one hand, the labouring class, and the capitalist on the other.

If the middle class man was wise, said Mr. Shaw, he would try go get out of the employment of private plutocrats whom he could not control, and who simply wanted to make money out of him and would try and get into the public service.

Alluding to Ireland, Mr. Shaw said Mr. Churchill had described it as a terrible danger to the British Empire. Why was it that this little cabbage garden of an island was so dangerous? It was because of the cheapness of various forms of warfare that could be waged from Ireland. Mr. Henry Ford, for instance, might be able to turn out submarines every 20 minutes, like he turned out motor cars. Poison gas was as easily made in Ireland as was poteen. The Nations, declared Mr. Shaw, must turn their backs on warfare and must go in for an uncompromising policy of international peace.—*Manchester Guardian.*

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